



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXIV, 1.

WHOLE NO. 93.

I.—LIMITATION OF TIME BY MEANS OF CASES IN EPIC SANSKRIT.

In *JAOS.* xxiii, p. 150, I have given an instance of a predicate nominative taking the place of a space-accusative: *yojanānām sahasrāṇi caturaçtīr ucchritaḥ*, (the mountain is) "eighty-four (nom.) thousands of leagues high" (nom.). So in time, although the accusative is the norm, the nominative serves, but in parataxis, to indicate duration. Thus iii. 296. 26: *saṁvatsaraḥ kiṁcid ūno na niṣkrāntā 'ham āçramāt*, "a year (nom.) almost, I have not gone out from the hermitage". Usually, when an event is described as subsequent, such a clause is filled out with its verb, and *atha* follows: *tato nā 'timahān kālaḥ samatīta ivā 'bhavat*, *atha*, etc., "a short time passed, then", etc., i. 39. 3; *māsajātas pitā bhavati atha jagmuḥ*, "thy father becomes a month old, then came they", xiv. 70. 13. But there is another construction, which has been credited with the implication of preterite time. It is common enough in the epic, though our Sanskrit Syntax illustrates the case but scantily. This is the nominative with a dependent genitive. The examples following, showing that the time does not depend on the case, may introduce the general question as to the kind of time indicated by

THE GENITIVE.

The examples are: *ṣaṣṭho hi divasas te 'dya prāptasye 'ha*, "it is to-day the sixth day (since) you got here"; *saptāṣṭa divasās tv adya viprasye 'hā 'gatasya vāi*, "a week (since) the priest came hither", xii. 359. 5; 360. 13; *sāgrah saṁvatsaro jātaḥ tava paçyataḥ*, "a whole year has been born (*while*) you (were)

looking on", xiii. 19. 48; *tasya vakyataḥ kālo munimukhyān abhyavartata*, "a long time elapsed (while) he (was) making the saints his bearers", xiii. 99. 12; *catvāriṅśad ahāny adya dve ca me niḥsṛtasya vāi*, (it is) "now forty-two days (since) I set out", ix. 34. 6; *evam vimṛśatas tasya dīrghaḥ kālo vyatikrāntaḥ*, "a long time passed (while) he was", etc., xii. 267. 44; *kadācid bhramamāṇasya hastinaḥ . . . kālo 'gacchan niṣāṇiṣam*, "time passed night by night (while) the elephant (was) wandering", xii. 117. 6; *kālo mahāḥs¹ tv atīto me śūrasūnum apaśyataḥ*, "a great while has passed since² I saw" (without seeing), xiv. 50. 20. Compare *mṛtakasya tṛtiyāhe* and *mṛtasya daśarātreṇa*, in xiii. 136. 15 ff.

The so-called "genitive of time after" (the only meaning given by Professor Speyer, *Syntax*, § 128) is confined exclusively to indefinite phrases and (as is usually said) may have been developed from the construction *trir abdasya*, "thrice a year," etc. But it does not really, so far as I have observed, connote time after, but time in which, interchanging with the "within" of the ablative (in this sense, see below) and instrumental, *dīrghasya kālasya* = *dīrghena kālena*. The epic phrases are few and stereotyped, *cirasya*, *kasya cit kālasya*, and (accompanied with the word for "then") *tataḥ katipayāhasya*, i. 8. 17; xiv. 71. 10, "then within a few days".

Of course, in the ptc. construction (above), a preterite idea lies neither in the ptc. (as it is also present), nor in the genitive, which is either absolute or loosely dependent, e. g. "forty-two days (of) me gone", or "me being gone". At any rate, "since" is only a convenience suited to our idiom and does not imply that the genitive gives time after. A strong argument against "after" is that we never find a case where definite periods of after-time are so construed, but only a vague time-notion; e. g. 'after three days' is never expressed by *trayāṇām divasānām*. On the contrary, a definite time in the genitive never means "after" but "within".

¹ This is the right form. In xiv. 56. 18, *mahākālāḥ* must be changed to *mahān*, as in C.

² This may be expressed (but not often) by *cira*: *mātulaḥ ciradṛṣṭo me tvayā*, "it is long since you saw my uncle", xiv. 53. 45. The idea here is really "long ago", as in *svargato 'pi pitā ciraṁ tava*, "died long ago", i. 157. 28. But with a ptc. this *cira* (*cirātra*) usually means for a long time, *cirasupta*, long asleep, *cirārōṣita*, i. 168. 3.

In this instance, as in the case of the ablative, to get the real meaning we must not start with a theory of the genitive, then make it apply in examples so indefinite as to explain nothing (for whether we say "in" or "after" a long time is indifferent), and finally force this meaning upon the definite cases or regard them as exceptions; but start with the definite time-words, establish their required genitival significance, then apply this to the indefinite time-words, and if it suits these also, construct a theory. Thus we may take the definite time indicated by a fortnight. There are two in a month and the second is called the "other wing" of the month. Now in the ritualistic rule of Āp. ii. 7. 16. 4, there is something mentioned which must be done every month in the "other wing" of the month, and this is expressed by *māsi māsi kāryam aparapakṣasya*, and it is quite impossible to translate it otherwise than by "month by month in the other wing this is to be done" (not "after"). So in Manu xi. 260 and iii. 281, *trir ahnaḥ* and *abdasya* is "three times in a day, in a year", and though we may dispose of this as a partitive genitive, we cannot do so when "year" stands alone in the genitive. Thus in Manu v. 21, *saṁvatsarasyāi 'kam api* must mean "at least one in a year"; and in Manu vii. 137, *varṣasya* means "in a year" or yearly (not "after a year", as given by Professor Speyer, *Ved. u. Sk. Syntax*, § 65). So when we find in the epic, i. 152. 8, *upapannaḥ cirasyā 'dya bhakṣaḥ*, we should render it "food furnished now in a long time", rather than "after"; and *sudīrghasya 'pi kālasya*, Manu viii. 216, etc., "in a very long time", however well, in these general time-words, "after" will suit our idiom. The genitival relation is really adjectival, *saṁvatsarasya* = *saṁvatsarīṇa*; *saṁvatsarābhigasta*, "a year-accused" is "accused within a year", Manu viii. 373. Parallel stands *antar* with the genitive of space, *sarvabhūtānām antaḥ carati*, "permeates all", iii. 76. 34 (*ṭasyā 'nu*, "after", is incorrect).

When this genitive is formally identical with the locative, it is impossible to tell which is intended. Thus in Manu ix. 104, *jīvatoh* means "in the life-time of the two" (parents), and may be either genitive or locative, though probably the former.

Again, time within, or during, which is the only time-meaning implied when other words are used, as, for example, when one says "he shall not study while his hands are wet", *prodakayoḥ pānyoḥ*, Āp. i. 3. 10. 25.

Finally, in ἡοὺς = *vastos*, the meaning is not "after" but "in, within", the dawn-time; and πολλῶν ἐτῶν should also be taken in the same way, "in many years," that is, in the course of many years, rather than "after". Compare the Avest. gen. "in the night, day," etc. So *nahts*, in Gothic, etc. In emphasizing in and within as the force of the temporal genitive, I wish merely to protest against the meaning "after". The fundamental meaning seems to me to be rather the loose adjectival relation usually implied by the genitive, best expressed in English by "of". Old English offers good parallels, as well as our colloquial "of old", "of a morning". Compare (cited in Cent. Dict.) "earn ten shillings of a night" (Mayhew); "Sir, I moste go, and of long tyme ye shul not se me ageyn", (Merlin, E. E. T. S.); "not wink of all the day" (Shakespeare).

THE LOCATIVE.

As in *tasminn ahani*, "on that day", *aparedyuh*, "on the next day" (i. 63. 20; iii. 65. 35); *samaye*, "in good time", iii. 192. 38, the locative gives the time "at or (with) in". The notion "after" lies not in the case but in the idiom of translation. In xii. 122. 16, "after a thousand years it fell" is the natural English of "on the thousand years completed it fell" (as he sneezed, *kṣuvato 'patat*; after the words "he carried it many years", acc.). The "after" idea is formally expressed when required, *tato 'ṣṭame tu divase*, "on the eighth day from this", i. 129. 20; *tataḥ saṁvatsarasyā 'nte (kāle)*, "at the end of a year from this", i. 139. 1; 167. 4; *pūrṇe saṁvatsare tataḥ*, xiii. 111. 70; or, as above, simple completion is expressed, ib. 136. 16, *dvādaśāhe vyatīte*, "on the twelfth day completed". So *sthite Pārthe (ājagmuḥ)*, xviii. 3. 1, "on (or at) his standing". So xv. 1. 6; 3. 12 and 34, etc. In *kāle bahutiṭhe*, iii. 65. 2; *bahutiṭhe 'hani*, i. 108. 2; *kāle bahutiṭhe vyatīkrānte kadācana*, "once on some time being passed," iii. 296. 1; *dvimāsoparame kāle vyatīte*, "at the expiration of two months' time," xii. 282. 26; xii. 360. 1, etc., time at and not (as generally rendered) time after is expressed. In iii. 61. 12, PW. renders this "viele Tage hindurch", although the verb is "saw", and the action immediate; the meaning being "in (within) considerable time he saw some birds." In i. 173. 14 and 31, the same event is narrated, *sthite tasmin . . . jagāma vipraṁśis tadā dvādaśame 'hani*, "on his standing there (night and day), then on the twelfth day came

the priest"; and again, *dvādaśarātre . . . samāhite*, (he came) "on the twelfth day completed". So ib. 45, *tasmin praviṣṭe pravavarṣa*, "it rained on his returning". The locative absolute connotes the same time as does the simple locative.

The asterism at (under) which is usually locative; but with Puṣya, Tīṣya, regularly, and with other asterisms occasionally, Hasta, Abbijit, the instrumental is used. *Puṣyeṇa samprayāto 'smi Ṣravaṇe punar āgataḥ*, ix. 34. 6, is a typical case.

The durative sense, though found, as in ÇB. vi. 1. 3. 20, "recite during a year or two", *samvatsare, dvayor (vā)*, and ib. xi. 4. 2. 19-20 (where "during a year" is expressed by both acc. and loc.), is often injected into a locative because the accompanying verb seems to require it. Thus in i. 3. 35, "on going to the teacher's house at the end of the day, *divasakṣaye*, after guarding the cows in (during) the day," *ahani gā rakṣitvā (ahni*, i. 185. 29), like *ekāhnā*, "in the course of one day." So in i. 148. 17, "they stood guarding the house in (during) the night", *rātrāu*. In the repeated locative, *māsi māsi śataṁ samāḥ*, "month by month, a hundred summers", i. 79. 6, the pure locative sense is not lost, though the concurrent construction, *anudīnam*, "day by day," i. 185. 15, equal to *divase divase*, is durative. The translation "during" is often given for the meaning "at some time in the course of". Thus, strictly speaking, though too pedantic for practical use, when in Manu iii. 28, *yajñe tu vitate sūtādānam* is translated (the gift of a daughter) "during the course of the sacrifice", the translation is incorrect; for the gift is not given "during" the sacrifice but at some one time in the course of the sacrifice, and "at the sacrifice begun" is the literal meaning. In the subsequent stanza, iii. 108, *vāiṣṇadeve tu nirvṛtte*, the translation "after the offering has been finished" puts the meaning of the verb into the case. It is not quite wrong, but it is not quite right; since, as far as the time goes, it means "on the completion". The compass of the locative is formally expressed by *antar*, *antardaśāhe*, "within ten days", M. v. 79, etc.

It is customary, since Gaedicke, to say that the locative means "after", when it marks the culminating time and (Delbrück, *Syntax*, p. 225) to compare the Sanskrit use with *ἐνιαυτῷ*, "after a year", *πολλῷ χρόνῳ*, "after a long time", etc. But in reality the "in" sense not only suffices but is the real meaning in all these

cases. The Hindu, who uses these expressions, *saṁvatsare*, "in a year", etc., never really uses them in the sense of "after a year", etc. For example, to take a case carefully measured, the epic war lasts eighteen whole days. On the evening of the fourteenth day, the prophecy of victory is expressed in the words *pañcame divase tāta prthivi te bhaviṣyati*, vii. 183. 65, "on (not "after") the fifth day earth will be yours." One does not and cannot express "the fourth day is after the third day" by putting "third" in the locative. So *ṣvobhūte dvyahe vā* cannot be "after", but "on the morrow or next day". Hence the locative expresses "after" only because we choose to render it so in accordance with our idiom, and in so doing sometimes mistranslate, as when Delbrück, *AIS.* p. 117, renders *daṣame māsi sūtave*, "after the tenth month", whereas (cf. *JAOS.* xxiv. 1) the real meaning (as in the loc. at *Manu* ii. 34-35) is "in the course of the tenth month", this marking the usual limit of time in cases like that of the pregnant sentence under consideration (sometimes even in the ninth month). In his *Syntax*, p. 224, Delbrück thus renders *quadriduo quo haec gesta sunt* and *is occisus est* by "on the fourth day after", though the real (locative) meaning (in or within which *quadriduum*) is as clear as in *qua nocte*. But this can be only a matter of translation and I wish merely to point out that the locative in no wise really connotes "time after", any more than "place from", e. g. *yad yonāv abhi jāyate*, "when one is born from (in) the womb", *Manu* ii. 147. If we translate in *ĀB.* v. 29. 3, *astamite sāyam* as "at eve after sunset" we must remember that the following *anudite* means just as well "before sunrise" (*ib.* iv. 17. 5, *pañce'va ṣaṣṭyām* is "after, in sixty" years).

THE DATIVE.

Cirāya, *cirakālāya*, *cirarātrāya*, "for (up to) long"; *ānantyāya*, "for ever"; *ahnāya ca cirāya ca*, "for ever and a day", xiii. 8. 19 (*ahnāya*, "up to a day", "soon"). We have to do (in the epic) with a few phrases only, and as in the case of the genitive the meaning "after" will do in a translation but is not in the original. For example, *sucirāya nagarīṇi viveṣa*, i. 177. 38, "he came up to very long to the town" is in sense not "for a long time" but "after a long time", yet only for our idiom; since the literal sense is clearly "it was for (or up to) a long while (as) he came". So also in *cirarātrāya*, not only in *cirarātrāya jīvītum*, iii. 131. 8,

“live for a long time”, but also in *adhyāsva cirarātrāya pītrpātā-maham padam*, iii. 299. 7 (N. *bahukālam*), and in *śasayec cirarātrāya yogakṣemavad avyayam*, v. 129. 5, where the meaning is “for long” (not “at last” or “after a long time”, as given in PW.). Thus in Mbh., in R. (e. g. ii. 40. 18), and in the rare but more specific *saṁvatsarāya*, “for a year”, of ÇB. xii. 2. 1. 9; 3. 3. 1, etc. The “for”, “up to”, idea as practically equivalent in our idiom to since or after, when of a past action (as in the example above “to a long while he came”), may be illustrated by the use of the preposition *prati* in the same sense; for this means not only “toward” (sunrise, etc.) and “for, during”, *pratitryaham pibed uṣṇān*, Manu xi. 215, but, in *kāṅkṣitaṁ ciraṁ prati*, “desired up to (i. e. for or since) a long while”. Cf. M. iv. 26; Y. i. 125; M. iii. 119; Y. i. 110.

THE ACCUSATIVE.

The durative sense is implied by an acc. with an active verb, *kālam*, *rātrim*, etc. with *vartayati*, *viharati*, pass or dissipate the time, *vartayām āsa varṣāṇi catvāri*, i. 100. 45 (intransitive sense, iii. 79. 3, *vartayām āsa muditaḥ*); *samāḥ sapta viharan*, i. 102. 70 (intransitive, iv. 1. 28). Whether the accusative is objective or durative, since, like Latin *degere*, the verbs are both intransitive (even when active in form) and transitive, is as difficult to say as in the parallel English, “he dissipated a whole day,” compared with “he dissipated his time” and “he dissipates all the time.” So doubtful is the acc. in *ekaviṁṣatim ājātir jāyate*, “he (in sinful wombs) is born twenty-one births” (during these rebirths), Manu iv. 166.¹

Three shades of meaning appear in the epic time-accusative, (a) during, (b) in the course of, (c) at.

(a) The usual durative sense is illustrated by *bahulāḥ samāḥ, avasāṁ suciram*,² “for many summers I lived, a long time”, i. 131. 41; *na sarvakālam puṣpavanto bhaviṣyatha*, “for all time not” (never), xii. 343. 59 (cf. *na bhūyaḥ*, “no longer”); *bahūn kālān*, i. 94. 41; *yasmāi vavarṣa Parjanya hiraṇyam parivatsarān*, “rained gold for years”, vii. 56. 5; *uvāsā 'bdagaṇān bahūn*, xii. 283. 18; *ṣaṇ māśān nityayuktaḥ* (phrase, passim); with a verb or

¹ On the development from an inner accusative, compare Delbrück, *AIS*. p. 170. In Manu v. 35, the acc. above is wholly durative, “becomes an animal (for) twenty-one existences”.

² So *kiyantaṁ kālam avasat*, xii. 344. 27; *nyavasān māsamātram*, xii. 1. 2. etc.

ptc. But the verbal idea may be nominal: *saptāham bhūmikam-panam*, "an earthquake for a week", iii. 202. 25; *etāvān iha saṁvāso vihitāḥ . . . ṣaṇ māsān, saplame māsi*, etc., "so long a stay is settled, six months", xi. 20. 29. Cf. *vāyubhakṣā* as well as verb with acc., v. 186. 20-33. So time distributed but durative takes the acc., as in v. 182. 30:

*tataḥ punar vimale 'bhūt sughoram
kalyaṁ kalyaṁ viṇṇatīm vāi dināni
tathāi 'va cā 'nyāni dināni trīṇi,*¹

"then again, at dawn, a terrible (fight) occurred, morn-and-morn, days a twenty and three more", that is, every morning during this time.

(b) The idea of duration passes into that of 'in the course of,' i. e. the final result is indicated by the acc., as if it were an instrumental. For example, *tvagasthimātraṣṣaḥ sa ṣaṇ māsān abhavat*, xv. 37. 13, means "(in the course of) six months he became mere skin and bone" (not "during"). According to the free translations noticed above in other cases, this might also be rendered "after six months he became a mere skeleton". Compare the ancient equivalent of *saṁvatsare jātāḥ* found in ÇB. ix. 5. 1. 68, *yaḥ saṁvatsaraṁ jātāḥ syāt*, "who should be born (in) a year".

(c) The accusative of time when (sume niht, ealne daeg, sume hwile, aelce niht ic sice & wepe) is still in the epic a similar visible modification of the durative use. Thus,² in ix. 30. 21, *yadī 'mānḥ rajanīm vyuṣṭān na hi hanmi parān raṇe*, "if in the course of (not during all) this night". But in i. 121. 34, *aṣṭamim . . . saṁviṣethā mayā saha*, which Professor Speyer, *Syntax* §54 R. i, gives as "time when", the durative idea still seems prominent, "stay through (the fourteenth or) the eighth night with me". It can scarcely be distinguished from *rātriṁ tām uṣiltvā, uṣiltve 'ha niṣām ekām*, i. 214. 34; xiv. 81. 28; *sukhoṣitās te rajanīm*, ii. 58. 38; and *uvāsa kila tām rātriṁ saha tena . . . vyatītā sā niṣā kṛtsnā sukhena divasopamā*, xii. 357. 9, "she stayed that night with him; that whole night passed", etc.³

¹ Compare my *Great Epic*, p. 243 (light syllable in epic poetry before *tr*). On this page there is no case of *st* (*h*); but the example is put under *triṣṭubh* forms, p. 280; and I have given no Mbh. (only R.) cases of *tr*, which omission is herewith made good.

² Holtzmann, *Grammatisches*, §276.

³ So in *tad ahar brahmacārī syāt*, Gāutama xv. 23, the acc. may be durative.

The "time when" idea is antique in phrases and is probably extended gradually, just as already in Homer's *aitrîmap*, but especially in late Greek inscriptions, as illustrated by Professor Delbrück in his *Syntax*.

Other examples where the durative notion seems to have disappeared are: *agamat tām velām nartanāgāram*, "he came that evening to the dance-hall", iv. 22. 39; *sa pūrvasamdhyaṃ yāti sarvadā*; *ubhe dvirātrisamdhya vāi nā 'bhyagāt sa mamā 'layam*, "he always comes (at) the gloaming; both the (last) two days' gloamings he has not come", xii. 172. 6-7 (C. *ubhe dvirātraṃ samdhya*); *gamiṣyati vanaṃ rājan āgatāṃ kārtikīm imām*, "that full-moon Kārtika day arrived [when it arrives] he will go", xv. 11. 3. But in these cases, as in Manu iii. 273, *yat pradadyāt trayodaṣīm*, and like cases in the epic, there may (as above) be a notion of the course of the day, as in the adverbial accusative, e. g. *ekarātraṃ tu te kāmāṃ dāsyāmi bhojanam*, "one night I will give thee food", i. 131. 73. A good example of this is offered by (ĀB. viii. 15. 2 =) R. vi. 20. 33. *yām ca rātriṃ mariṣyāmi jāye rātriṃ ca yām aham*, "the night I am born, the night I die". So in xiii. 85. 155 ff., after "at sunrise," *ādityodayasamprāpte* and *uditamātre*, follows "at midday" and "the gloaming" (acc.): *madhyāhne dadato rukmaṃ hanti pāpam anāgalam, dadāti paścimāṃ samdhyaṃ yaḥ suvarṇam*, etc., not "during". Just where "in the course of" shades into the "at" of *naktam*, *trivelam*, *tad ahaḥ* and such phrases,¹ is impossible to determine. Thus *vyuṣṭāṃ niṣāṃ* in vi. 60. 1 takes the place of a stereotyped locative (56. 1; 69. 1, etc.) and can mean scarcely more than "at dawn".² So perhaps in xii. 138. 24, (*eti*) *prabhātāṃ ṣarvarim*, though one might render "in the course of the morning". The word time itself gives an opportunity for three accusatives in one clause, for not only have we *trikālam abhiṣekaḥ*, xiii. 142. 6 and 23; and *dvikālam agniṃ juhvānaḥ*, xiv. 46. 4; but also *ekakālāṃ caran bhāikṣyaṃ kulāni daṣa pañca ca*, i. 119. 12. The adverbial

¹ The word *trivelam*, like *triṣavaṇam*, occurs at xiii. 136. 15, *sa trivelāṃ sam-unmaja dvādaṣāhena ṣudhyati*. Instead of the antithesis of *pūrvāṃ (samdhyaṃ)* and *paścimāṃ* in i. 2. 393 (at gloaming) we find *paścāt samdhyaṃ* in the same sense, xviii. 5. 43 ff. (with *ahnā, rātrāu*).

² Manu iv. 128 has *amāvāsyāṃ aṣṭamīm ca*, acc.; but xiii. 104. 29 has in the same stanza all locatives. Gāutama xviii. 22, *saptamīm*, "on the seventh," is loc. in Manu xi. 16.

form of *cira* is used in all oblique cases; thus it is indifferently accusative, dative, and instrumental, *ciraṁ na paritapyate, cireṇa niṣcayaṁ kṛtvā, cirāya yadi te sāumya ciram asmi na duḥkhitāḥ*, in the Cirakārika story, xii. 267. 67-73.

Of these meanings, the first and last are most antique, and the second may perhaps be found in the later Vedic language; but I have seen no epic examples cited for this use, though it is clearly to be differentiated from the other two classes. As a specimen unique in form I may cite *dvirūnaṁ daṣarātram*, "eight days", xii. 359, 10, apparently an accusative of time, though it might be an independent nominative, such as is given above.¹ The repeated *ahar-ahaḥ* accusative, *ṣvaḥ-ṣvaḥ*, ÇB. iv. 3. 4. 33; *nimeṣaṁ-nimeṣam*, ib. iii. 6. 2. 9; *kalyaṁ-kalyaṁ* (above), adds nothing to the syntax of the case, but it shows how durative may have glided into punctual time, if it is necessary to assume any transition at all.

THE INSTRUMENTAL.

How this borders on yet differs from the accusative may be seen by comparing these examples: (*akhanat*) *ahāni triṅṣat pañca*, "he dug (for) thirty-five days", xiv. 58. 27; *saptabhir divasāiḥ khātvā dṛṣṭaḥ*, "seen with a week's digging", iii. 204. 21; *kadācid divasān pañca samutpatya . . . ṣaṣṭhe 'hani samājagmuḥ . . . kadācin māsamātreṇa samutpatya nāi 'vā 'gacchan*, "once flying off (during) five days they returned on the sixth day; once flying off with (in the course of) a month they returned not", xii. 262. 35 ff. So there are cases where the instrumental (means) is absent: *tasya kālena mahatā tasmiṁs tapasi vartataḥ, tam ācramam anuprāptāḥ*, "they came to the asylum of that man, when he was engaged in that austerity, at the end of a long time", i. 107. 4. Thus *divā* (cf. *doṣā*), "by day", etc., shows the weakest sense of the case in the earliest period; no means but only the "with" idea.

But the epic instrumental usually indicates accompanying (temporal) means, which necessarily implies the end of the whole time: *atyakrāman mahārṇavam . . . setunā 'nena māsenāi 'va*, "he crossed the sea with (by) that dike and with (by the end of) a month", iii. 283. 50; *ekenā 'bhipataty ahnā yojanāni caturdaṣa*, "he gets over fourteen leagues with (by the end of) one day",

¹ The context shows that the meaning is (ten less two) eight days, so the v. l. *dviguṇam* (cited by Mohan Ganguli) will not answer.

v. 86. 12; so 'bhavad dvādaśasamo dvādaśāhena, "he became twelve years old with (by the end of) twelve days", vii. 62. 9; jagmus tribhir ahorātrāiḥ Kāmyakam, "they reached K. with (by going all of) three days"; sabhān kṛtvā māsāiḥ paricaturdaśaiḥ "made the hall by (the end of) fourteen months", ii. 3. 37; tribhir varṣair labdhakāmaḥ, "he got his wish by (the end of) three years", i. 62. 41. "By means of" is actually implied in some instances (see below).¹

We thus see that the notion of "time after" is suggested but not expressed by the instrumental. In the example above, for example, *kālena mahatā* does not mean (the robbers came) "after" a long time (a great while), but with or in the course of a long time; and when, i. 75. 58, we find *kālena mahatā paścāt*, this also means the same, not "after a great while" but "afterwards in the course of a great while". So in i. 160. 7, *sa vāro bahubhir varṣair bhavaty asukaro naraiḥ*, "the choice comes (not after but) in the course of many years"; Manu x. 93, *saptarātreṇa*, "by the end of a week". Of course, in indefinite time-expressions it makes no difference whether we say "comes after a long time", or "comes in the course of a long time", but as soon as a definite period is given it makes a great difference: *kālenāi 'tāvatā punaḥ, udghāṭaniyāni*, "they are to be reopened by the end of just so much time", i. 115. 23;² *akṣauhiniyo daśa 'ṣṭau ca aṣṭādaśāhena hatāḥ*, "killed in the course of or by the end of eighteen days" (not afterwards), xv. 10. 29 ff.; *tenā 'hnā gatvā sumahad autaram*, "going a great distance in the course of that day", ib. 18. 16.³

¹ The instrumental sense is clearly expressed in Manu's phrase, viii. 394, *saptatyā sthaviṛaḥ* "a man aged by (reason of) seventy" (years).

² It is not often that, as in this section, i. 115. 3 ff., one finds so many time-cases together and so clearly marked: *kiyatā kālena jajñe*, "in how much time"; *saṁvatsaradvayam*, "during two years" (and *dvi-varṣasambhṛtā*); *kālaparyayāt*, "in course of time"; *kālenāi 'tāvatā*, "by (and not after) the end of just so much time"; *yasminn ahani*, "the day in which." In giving the limit of time the instrumental has the same function as in its non-temporal use, e. g. "the size of the mouthful is within (limited by) non-distorting of the mouth," *pramāṇam, avikāreṇa*, Gāut. xxvii. 10.

³ I append some of the epic phrases: *kālena, kālayogena, kālena mahatā, alpēna kālena, adirghēna kālena, dirghakālena mahatā*, xii. 285. 69 (a mighty long time); *acireṇāi 'va k. svalpēna*.

THE ABLATIVE.

The "from" meaning of the ablative glides so naturally into that of "after" that it is rather surprising how restricted is the time-function of this case. Most of the early examples are still clearly "from", interchanging with the causal "in consequence of", such as *tataḥ* and *etasmāt*, "from this", "therefore". No Indo-European time-function is claimed for the ablative (but Avest. has abl. "by day and night") and the Vedic language offers no examples of time-words used in the pure ablative (i. e. without preposition) in the sense of "after". Even in the Sūtras this sense with time-words is quite lacking and there is but one case in Manu where it is probable, although this case also is not that of a time-word, as will be shown. All that we have from this earlier period is the Vedic examples (above) continued, together with such examples as *janmataḥ* = *janmaprabhṛti*¹ or (as well), "in consequence of birth",² and the similar use of *garbhāt*, "from conception". The test of the meaning "after" as applied to time must be sought, however, not in such expressions as these, but in the application of the ablative to words of time in the sense of "after". For example, we should find "I will go after three days", or its like, expressed by an ablative; and if we do not find any such examples, or only doubtful and late cases; if on the contrary we find that a time-word in the ablative instead of meaning "after" always means "up to", then we may safely declare that the meaning attributed to the ablative of time-words must be in accordance with this necessary interpretation.

Even from the examples *tataḥ*, "from that", *itaḥ*, "from this", it may be seen that the meaning of the case is "from", measured in either direction, and that therefore "after" is not a necessary meaning. Thus, in the epic, *itaḥ* may measure time back to a

¹ Or *janmataḥ prabhṛti*, and other such phrases marking time locally from a station, *suciram bālyāt prabhṛti*, "for a long time, from boyhood onward", i. 131. 44, etc.

² Or "according to", Manu ix. 125 ff. For *garbhāt* in the parallel cases, Āp. and Vas. use the indefinite *garbhāṣṭameṣu*, etc.; Āp. i. 1. 18, etc. It is scarcely necessary to insist that *mṛtyoḥ sa mṛtyum āpnoti*, from the earlier Upaniṣad period (e. g. K. 4. 10), like *tamasah tamaḥ pravṛṇati*, Āp. i. 1. 10, means "from", and that from such phrases no "after" sense can be shown from the ablative; that is, "one (coming) out of darkness enters into darkness" (not "after darkness one enters darkness").

certain point, as well as forward, and so imply "before" rather than "after". For example, in i. 126. 29, *itaḥ sapta-daṣe 'hani*, means "on the seventeenth day before this" (i. e. "from this", reckoned back), the event referred to having taken place seventeen days previously. The *prabhṛti* clauses also, even when taken by themselves, oppose the sense of "after" in an ablative not really required by the construction; while in *cirāt prabhṛti*, for example, the meaning is clearly not "after a long time onwards", but "from a long time onwards".

Besides the "from" ablative, however, there is the ablative with an adverb-preposition, the usual type of which is *ā*, meaning, as in RV. iii. 53. 20, "up to", with a background which may be analyzed as "toward (or hither) from", *ā Manoh*, i. 95. 3, a meaning afterwards quite reduced to "toward", "up to".

This ablative may include the time of the ablative-word, though this is left to the sense of the hearer; as it is in the construction with space-words, when *ā* is expressed. Compare, for example, Manu ii. 108, *ā samāvartanāt*, "up to his return home"; ib. 161, *ā nakhāgrebhyah*, "up to (including) the nail-points"; ib. 22, *ā samudrāt*, "up to (excluding) the ocean". In pure time-words, however, the whole time is included in Manu's examples (see below).

All these local and temporal examples, which may be called the *ā tamitoḥ* type of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, Āp. ii. 5. 12. 15, etc., indicate the end reached in place or time, and they are the usual type through legal and epic literature, as in the oft repeated phrase *ā ṣoḍaṣāt*, "up to the sixteenth" (year). Thus: Vas. v. 21, *ā dinakṣayāt*; ib. vii. 4, *ā śarīramokṣāt*; Manu, ii. 243, *ā śarīravimokṣaṇāt*; ib. iv. 137, *ā mṛtyoḥ*; Mbh. xiii. 26. 71, *ā dehapatanāt*; Gāut. ii. 11, *ā jyotiṣo darṣanāt*; Gāut. i. 36 and Vas. iii. 26, *ā maṇibandhanāt* (place); Vas. ii. 6, *ā māñjibandhanāt* (time); Manu v. 88, *ā vratasya samāpanāt*; Āp. i. 3. 10. 27, *ā ca vipākāt*; Āp. ii. 6. 15. 23-25, *opanayanāt, sā niṣṭhā*, "up to the initiation, this is the limit". This ablative is sometimes paralleled by the instrumental, as when *ā sapta-mād yugād*, Manu x. 64, is distinctly within the seventh generation, and is paralleled by *saptamena* in Gāut. iv. 22. Cf. also ĀB. iii. 19. 16, adv. *ājarasam* (RV. x. 85. 43, *ājarasāya*), as limit.

As in the case of the genitive, where we lack the basis for a true interpretation in such examples as *cirasya*, "in a long time", and first find the real sense of the case in definite time-words,

not in words so indefinite that it makes no difference whether we translate by 'within' or 'after', so, as regards the ablative, to adduce *kṣaṇāt*, *cirāt*, *muhūrtāt* as examples of the "after" sense of the ablative is inadmissible till the sense in definite time-words is established. That this latter, in pure ablatives as well as in the *ā*-cases just cited, is not "after" but "by the end", or "up to the end", can I think be shown by the cases in the Sūtras, Manu, and epic. It may be that an "after" sense creeps into grammatical phraseology, but it is not in connection with words of time but with the position of one letter as marked from another, as illustrated by the example in Whitney's grammar, § 291, b. The BS. has an "after" abl., but this is late Sanskrit.

All this, however, is in direct opposition to the received teaching of our grammarians, and for this reason must be established by a careful examination of the examples.

In his *Sanskrit Syntax*, Professor Speyer asserts that the meaning "after" is fundamental to the genitive and ablative of time, saying: "It does always express after what time something is happening", § 128; and again: "When denoting time the ablative carries the meaning from, since, after", § 99. Adhering to this still, in his *Ved. u. Sk. Syntax*, the same eminent authority gives again the same examples and carries them back into the Vedic language with the help of one further specimen of the same interpretation. He adduces Pāṇ. ii. 3. 7 as authority for this view. Whitney in his Grammar, as has been said, adds the example of a letter "after" another, adopting Speyer's view and employing one of his examples. In my opinion, the statements in both these works should be greatly modified if not radically altered, somewhat as follows: When denoting time, the pure ablative of time-words in epic and earlier Sanskrit means "up to" (as a limit) and not "after".

As to Pāṇini's authority, he permits either locative or ablative (in the rule cited) as follows: "The accusative of time and space in uninterrupted continuation, *atyantasaṃyoge*; the instrumental in giving the end, *apavarge*; the locative or ablative in giving the interval for the agent, *kāraṇamadhye*". The scholiast gives an example "having eaten to-day Devadatta will eat in two days", *dvyāhe* or *dvyahāt*. But "by the end of" two days serves as well as "after" to fulfil the rule, and the former is more probable because the other example, given to illustrate space, says that *kroṣe* or *kroṣāt* the mark will be hit, stationed,

obviously, not more than a *koss* away, but within an interval, to the limit of a *koss*. Compare Yājñ. ii. 272, *bahiḥ kroçāt*, "up to a *koss* outside (the village)".

The one Vedic example recently added (*Ved. u. Sk. Syntax*) by Professor Speyer (Professor Delbrück gives no Vedic case of pure ablative in this sense) is ĀB. i. 12. 2, *tam (somam) trayodaçān māsād akrīṇan*, which he translates "they bought Soma after the thirteenth month". But the thirteenth month is here classed with the wicked Soma-seller as "unfit", and what is the time after the thirteenth month? And if bought in that after-time, how can the thirteenth month be implicated in the transaction and thereby made unfit? The words must mean "they bought from the thirteenth month" (as a Soma-seller). Compare ÇB. v. 1. 2. 14; vi. 2. 2. 29; xii. 7. 2. 12, "buy from" (abl.).

Some of Professor Speyer's examples are of the *janmataḥ* class already referred to and cannot be utilized till the usage with real words of time has shown that they must bear this sense. Others are from Manu and the epic where the interpretation, as it seems to me, is either incorrect (as shown below) or dubious, the last case being Manu iii. 119, *parisaṁvatsarāt*, "after a year". But this example is ill able to support the weight of the contention, for Kullūka takes it as *pari saṁvatsarāt*, and Medhātithi (the older commentator) reads *parisaṁvatsarān*, an adj. pl. acc., which is the construction of the epic parallel (see Jolly's text) and Gāutama's parallel has *saṁvatsare punaḥ*, v. 28. Even if Āp. ii. 4. 8. 7 has the form of Manu, it may be questioned whether Kullūka's interpretation is not valid here, especially since in all other cases Āpastamba uses this ablative in the sense of "up to" and never in the sense of "beyond". Thus *çamyā-prāsāt*, "up to the cast of the stick", i. 3. 9. 6, *iṣumātrāt*, "up to the length of an arrow", i. 5. 15. 19; *uttamād ucchvāsāt*, "up to his last breath", i. 10. 29. 1.

The ablative sometimes seems to mark time where in reality it does not. Thus in Āp. ii. 6. 14. 16, *pāṇigrahaṇād dhi karmasu sahatvam*, is not "union in religious acts after marriage", but rather "from the joining of hands in marriage there is union in religious acts". One is typical of the other, and that other union is not simply posterior but is symbolized by the joining of hands. On the other hand, there is occasionally an ellipse that prevents the assumption of a pure ablative. Thus in Vas. xi. 15, *anujñātād vā*, "or till permitted", is preceded by *ā sīmāntād*

anuvrajes, "accompany up to the border", and the *ā* doubtless affects the second clause; as in iv. 9-10, *dvivarsāt prabhṛti* . . . *dantajananād ity eke*, the *prabhṛti* is to be supplied with the second ablative (compare Manu v. 71, *nā 'trivarṣasya* . . . *jātadantasya vā*; 58, *dantajāte 'nujāte ca*), ("by death made impure) from (a child of) two years and onward; some say from teething" (onward).

Turning from the Sūtra, I will now examine the examples I have found in Manu and the epic, including among them those already used by Professor Speyer.

Manu ii. 101, *pūrvām saṁdhyām japaḥ tiṣṭhet sāvitṛm arka-darṣanāt*, the ablative can mean only "till sunrise".

Manu v. 64-67, the time is given at the end of which one becomes pure. The limit is set by the instrumental, *rātryā*, "pure by the end of the night"; by the ablative, *trirātrāt*, "by the end of three nights"; and by the adjective, *viçuddhir nāiçikī*, "purification that ensues in a night". Here the circumstances are in each case the same. The purification is attained by the end of the time mentioned, as expressed by the ablative, within, up to the end. This formal within, as in the case of the locative, is actually expressed in Manu viii. 222, where "within ten days" (giving the limit of time allowed to repent of a bargain and undo it) is *antardaçāhāt*.¹

In Manu viii. 142, interest by the month is *māsasya*; in Yājñ. ii. 37, *māsi māsi*; in Gāut. xii. 29, *māsam*, giving the limit; but these two last stanzas correspond in content to Manu viii. 140, where the same rule is expressed by: *açitibhāgaṁ grhṇīyād māsād vārdhuṣikaḥ çate*, when *māsāt* must also give the limit, "up to the end of the month".

In Manu xi. 131, one is directed to perform a vow *ṣaṇmāsāt*, "up to the end of six months".

In Manu viii. 108, *saptāhāt* is said in PW. s. v. and by Speyer, *Sk. Syntax*, loc. cit., to mean "after a week". But a closer examination of the passage will show that this is exactly what the ablative does not mean. Manu is asserting here that proof of a sinner's guilt may be seen in misfortune coming to him *within* a week. This is the very proof, for otherwise he would be liable on account of misfortune at any time after a week. But no judgments of God are framed in such wise. In Yājñ. ii. 113,

¹ PW. renders "before" (literally "up to a *within-ten* period").

the time is simply doubled, *arvāk caturdaṣād ahnaḥ*, "up to the fourteenth day". In the very stanza preceding, Manu uses the same construction in the same sense, *tripakṣād abruvan*, "if he does not make a declaration within, by the end of, three fortnights". The corresponding passage in Yājñ. ii. 76, gives the first day *for the fine* as the forty-sixth. In M. viii. 58, occurs again, *na cet tripakṣāt prabrūyāt*, not "after" but "by the end of three fortnights", as an extreme limit of time allowed for silence.

In every one of these cases the ablative fails to show the meaning "after" time, but in all clear passages means "within" (up to, by the end of) the time. Of the doubtful *parisaṁvatsarāt*, I have spoken above. There remains a *taḥ* ablative of a noun in viii. 375, *vāiṣyaḥ sarvasvadaṇḍyaḥ syāt saṁvatsaranirodhataḥ*, "a Vāiṣya shall be mulcted in all his possessions after a year's imprisonment". But, as in the other doubtful passage, so there is here a varied reading *nirodhitaḥ*, and this weakens the force of this example, which, strictly speaking, is an ablative of a word implying time, rather than of a time-word.

I turn now to the epic examples. First, there are endless cases of *cirāt*, *kṣaṇāt*, *muhūrtād iva*, etc., all of which I should provisionally render as "up to the end of", in accordance with the sense given by the examples above, e. g. i. 133. 4, and xii. 326. 43, *taṭo muhūrtād utthāya*, "up to or by the end of an hour from midnight"; i. 135. 21, *kṣaṇāt . . . kṣaṇāt . . . kṣaṇena*, "within a moment, in a moment", etc. Similarly, as in the law-examples, i. 99. 38, (*mokṣas te bhavitā*) *kasmāc cit kāla-paryayāt*, "within (by the end of) some time", *anusaṁvatsarāt*, "in the course of (not after) a year", i. e. by the end of it (you will be free from the curse). Then we have cases where the instrumental might be expected: *ekāhāt pṛthivī vijitā ṣāsanāt*, "he conquered earth within (by the end of) one day by an edict", iii. 126. 39. Conversely, the instrumental where the ablative might be looked for (and if used would be rendered by "after"), *saptāṣṭabhir dināir darṣayīṣyati*, "he will appear within a week" (the same verb, cf. Eng. "show up" for appear, without object in i. 63. 85), xii. 358. 8.

This interchange brings us to the case where the ablative and instrumental are used indifferently in the same word and phrase, *varṣaṣatāir* and *varṣaṣatād* followed by *api*, "even by the end of a hundred years". The former case is found several times

(as in Manu ii. 227) in the epic, i. 97. 13; ii. 33. 7; and with a redundant *api* in *api varṣaṣatāir api*, xiii. 161. 44. The ablative form has been taken by Professor Speyer (loc. cit.) as an example of the ablative meaning "after", in the verse found in the Rāmāyaṇa v. 34. 6 (= Gorr. vi. 110. 2) and vi. 126. 2:

eti jīvantam ānando naram varṣaṣatād api.

But, as in the case with the example chosen from Manu, "after" is here exactly what the ablative does not mean. The hundred years ("living even to the end of a century") are the conventional equivalent of a long life, and what the poet says is: "However long one lives (not after one's life) joy is sure to come to a man". This is the very sense and application of the proverb, that one should not despair but live bravely, for sometime within one's long life one is sure to find joy (compare the scholiast on R. v. 34. 6). This is in fact the same thought as that expressed in Manu iv. 137 (compare ib. ix. 300), "till death seek bliss nor deem it hard to win":

ā mṛtyoḥ ṣṛīyam anvicchen nāi 'nām manyeta durlabhām.

Professor Speyer does not translate his example from Mbh.; but since it is found in this group it has been taken up in Whitney's grammar, § 291, b, and translated "they went to the shrine after a whole day". The passage is i. 170. 3; the words are *te tv agacchann ahorātrāt tīrtham*; and the meaning is, "they arrived at the shrine (for which they had already started) within a day and night" (that is by the end of a whole day).

As the ablative interchanges with the instrumental in the example above, so does it with the accusative. The PW. gives a case of *avatiṣṭate kṣaṇam*, "stop for a moment". So in xii. 332. 6, we find an example where the ablative gives the same limit (expressed idiomatically by our dative): "Night and day pass away; the change of bright and dark halves of the month does not cease for a moment", *nimeṣān nā 'vatiṣṭhate* (up to a moment's length).

Again, we find the date of a new moon set by the ablative. The locative or instrumental in giving dates is the concurrent construction, and as one would not translate, iii. 282. 20, *sa māsaḥ pañcarātreṇa pūrṇo bhavitum arhati*, by an indefinite "after" but render, "the month will be complete by the end of

five nights", so in *saptamāc cā 'pi divasād amāvāsyā bhaviṣyati*, v. 142. 18, we should render, "there will be a new moon within (by the end of) the week".

A very clear epic case is given by the drama of i. 41 ff. Here the announcement of a man's death is made in the words *saptarātrād ito netā Yamasya sadanam prati*, çl. 14, "by the end of (within) seven days from this I shall lead him to hell". Then in 18 follows the locative of the precise time, *saptame 'hani*, "on the seventh day"; and then again, 42. 20, the instrumental sets the date, *saptarātreṇa*, "by the end of seven days"; and finally, when the fatal day arrives, *prāpte divase*, just at sunset, *astam abhyeti savitā*, 42. 32-33, in the last moment of the allotted seven days, even as the victim thinks he has escaped the curse, death nabs him. The scene is repeated at i. 50. 11 ff.

To give one more epic illustration. In the same account, *ā caturdaṣakād varṣāt* stands parallel to the pure ablative, *bālo hi dvādaṣād varṣaj janmato yat kaiṣyati*, "what a boy may do from his birth up to his twelfth year" (inclusive), i. 108. 14 and 17. The same *ā* is used with the adverb-accusative: *ā-kumāraṇ ca pāurāṇ*, (all) the citizens (were grieved) "even to boys", xv. 21. 7, as in a temporal sense, the Sūtra phrase, *ākālam, ākālikam*, "to the (same) time" (next day).

The limitation of the ablative in time and place (*yojanāt = ā vojanāt*) is paralleled by the limitation in action. Thus in i. 128. 71, *ekocchvāsāt tataḥ kuṇḍam pibati sma*, "then he drank up the jar with one swallow", i. e. by the limit of a swallow.

It is of some interest to see how time-limit is given apart from the pure cases. The use of adverb-prepositions, illustrated by *ā* above, is the oldest and in the Vedic stage of the language the only way of limiting time with an ablative case. Whether the limit is before or after depends not on the case but on the meaning of the word that governs it. Thus *purā*, before, with the ablative in Veda, Sūtra, *purā kālāt*, etc., and epic, *purodayāt; prāk*, both as adverb, e. g. *prāg eva 'nāgate kāle*, "a little before the time arrived", i. 54. 15; and as preposition, *prāg astagamanād raviḥ*, i. 155. 17; also *arvāk*, in the same way, especially as preposition: *arvāg eva hi te sarve mariṣyanti çaracchatāt*, "they will all die before (they are) a hundred years (old)", xii. 104. 20; *nā 'rvāṇ niçāthāt*, "not before midnight", ii. 21. 34; *nā 'rvāk saṁvatsarāt*, "not till the end of the year", xii. 96. 5.

The same means is employed to express "after"; *param*, *parataḥ*, *pareṇa*, *ūrdhvam*; not giving the sense of the ablative but explaining the nature of its limit: *ūrdhvaṁ tribhyo 'pi varṣebhyaḥ*, "beyond, more than, three years", xii. 165. 56 (compare *adhikam*, "more" and "longer"); *ata ūrdhvaṁ tataḥ*, "then after that", i. 165. 1 (often in Sūtras); *ūrdhvaṁ dehāt karmaṇā jṛmbhamāṇāt*, "after a body has been developed by acts", i. 90. 7 (*parastāt*, "afterwards" in 17). So Manu uses *ūrdhvaṁ kālāt*, "beyond the time"; and either genitive or ablative with *para* forms: *abhivādāt param*, *pareṇa daçāhasya*, ix. 90; ii. 122; viii. 222. Compare *ūrdhvam pituḥ*, "after the father" (is dead or gone away), M. ix. 104; Yājñ ii. 123. Āpastamba still uses *adhi* in the same sense, *pāṇigrahaṇād adhi* "after marriage", ii. 1. 1. 1.

More precise is the actual employment of *anta*, common in the Sūtras, e. g. *vidyākarmāntam*, Āp. i. 1. 1. 12; *dvādaçarātrasyā 'nte*, Gāut. xxvi. 15; so *trirātrānte*, Yājñ iii. 288, etc. The adjective corresponding is joined with *ā* in iii. 88. 7, and Manu ix. 101, Yājñ. ii. 183, *āmarāṇāntikaḥ*, "ending up with death" (Manu, ib. 89, *ā maraṇāt*). For "next after" the (negative) interval is used, *anantaras tasmāt* (*ekavarṣāntarāḥ*, "at intervals of a year", i. 221. 86), or an adverb of coordination, *ānupūrvyeṇa samprāptāḥ*, "arriving one after the other", in due order, i. 185. 4 ff. So "before" is implied by a negative, *anirdaça*, "before ten days", Manu, v. 75; *ānadvivārṣika*, "before he is two years old", ib. 68. Then "before and after" are expressed by two adverbs or by a combination of a compound and adverb, *pūrvot-thāyī caramaṁ co 'paçāyī*, "rising before (him) and retiring after", i. 91. 2; *uttiṣṭhet prathamam cā' sya caramaṁ cāi 'va saṁviçet*, Manu ii. 194. The usual preposition is *anu*, as in ÇB. xii. 1. 1. 7, *kl̥ptim anu*; ĀB. viii. 12. 4, *tān anu*, of time and place. Finally, "after" is implied by participles, *samāvṛttavrataḥ*, "(after) having completed his vow", i. 77. 1. etc., passim, and, to our idiom, by gerunds (instrumentals, *gatvā*, with).

There is, however, quite a different method by which the limit of time may be expressed, and as I have discussed other means so fully, I may add a word on this old usage as it survives in the epic. I refer to *yāvat* used adverbially, as in *yāvadāyruṣam*, Ch. Up. viii. 15. 1, etc. Either the accusative or instrumental here marks the limit, *yāvadjīvam*, *yāvatkālam*, *yāvadjīvena*, *yāvat-kālēna*, "as long as one lives", "as long as life lasts"; the last also as "until", v. 35. 68; xii. 303. 13; i. 155. 20 (*yāvatkālēna*

bhavati putrasyo 'tpādanam śubhe, tāvatkālaṁ gamiṣyāmi tvayā saha, "I will accompany you so long, until a son is born". Time as long as possible (all time) is expressed by this phrase, *yan na kṣarati pūrveṇa yāvatkālena vā 'py atha*, "which perishes not by reason of time past or (future) however long", xii. 303. 13. The ordinary correlation is accusative in both clauses.¹ A more definite word is sometimes used with *tāvat*, as in xii. 319, 32, *muhūrtam uṣyatām tāvad yāvad evaṁ vicintaye*, "just wait a moment (so long) while (or till) I think it over."

The epic has taken up a Suçruta phrase in its description of the attacks of the grippe, and in doing so illustrates an extension of the use of *yāvat*, iii. 230. 57:

yāvat sapṭativarṣāṇi bhavanti ete grahā nṛṇām, "these attacks of grippe last up to the seventies."

Compare the following verse, with its interesting metaphor, xii. 83. 7:

te tvām tāta niṣeveyur yāvad ādrakapāṇayaḥ,

"they will court you as long as they are wet-handed", that is, as long as they are not empty-handed. The metaphor occurs again in xii. 139. 30, *bhrātā śatruḥ klinnapāṇir vayasyaḥ*, "your brother is your enemy; he whose hand has been wetted is your friend" (N. *upakriyamāṇaḥ*, "benefited").²

As regards the evolution of the meaning of the ablative in connection with words of time, it is easy to see how a case that means "from" glides into the meaning "after". Even where the "from" is still clearly marked, as in the expression found in Vedic prose *tasmād dvitīyaḥ*, "second from him", secundus ab, it requires a moment's thought to realize that "after" is not the meaning of the ablative (which in this stage of the language never, when pure, has this meaning). Yet even in English, "from" and "after" are not always interchangeable. We can

¹ "A homely man thinks himself beautiful as long as he does not see his face in a mirror", *yāvat (na) tāvat*, i. 74. 87; the same in i. 203. 11 ("a man lives as long as his glory is not destroyed"), and in i. 128. 69 ("give to him as long as he drinks"). As a simple time-word, *tāvat*, passim, means "for a while", "now", "to begin with" (cf. tantum); and *na tāvat*, as in xiv. 81. 30, *na sa tāvat pravakṣyāmi puram*, "not at present".

² But *ādrakapāṇiḥ samuttiṣṭhet* and *pañcārdro bhojanam bhuñjyāt*, "one should wash the hands before rising"; "one should eat only after washing the five", i. e. hands, feet, and mouth, xii. 193. 6-7.

say "I will walk from breakfast till dinner", but we cannot say "I will walk from breakfast", without suggesting that we are walking away from it. Now this "from", marking continuity, is found only in a very few phrases, "from now", "from this", "from birth", etc., but it was never developed into a free "ablative of time after" used with words of time. On the other hand, in the earliest period, the \bar{a} + ablative construction means "hither to (\bar{a}), from", so that this construction still preserves the true "from" of the ablative, but unites with it by means of an adverb the notion of "up to" (from). Thus, *tasmād ā* is "from that hither" i. e. "since" (Whitney, Gr. § 293 c). So *ā mūlāc chākābhīḥ*, ĀB. ii. 1. 6, is "here-to (from) the root, with the branches". But in the later language the force of the adverb, "up to", gains in power and ends by suppressing altogether the sense of "from", so that \bar{a} + ablative finally mean simply "up to". The next step is to elide the adverb-preposition and use the ablative in the same sense without it, both in space and time. Compare for the former, *yojanāt* ("from" or) "up to a league".¹

Synchronous with this transformation of the ablative-meaning is its causal modification from "from" to "in consequence of", and from this to "by reason of", and eventually to "by" (concurrent in this with the instrumental).² Thus even in Brāhmaṇa style we find *ekān na śatam* (AIS. p. 112), i. e. ninety-nine, as "not one hundred, up to or by one". The parallel construction in this case, being instrumental, is opposed to Delbrück's interpretation "from the point of view of one, not a hundred" (loc. cit.). Thus in time-words employed in legal phrases, "made pure by" a month's penance is expressed either with the instrumental or ablative of the month, and it seems hypercritical to say that while *kṛcchreṇa pūtaḥ* is "purified by penance", *kṛcchrābdena* must be "by the end of a year of penance". For the latter is also "by a year of penance", as time in the instrumental still clearly in many cases is "by means of". By analogy, with *māsena*, therefore, *māsāt pūtaḥ* may be

¹ In Manu iii. 91, one is directed to give an offering to the Manes *dakṣiṇataḥ*, not "from the south" but "toward the south", or "on the south", the ablative having in such -*taḥ* phrases from antiquity an indefinite case of locality. So *māsam antataḥ* is "(during) a month, to its end", iv. 36. 3.

² Compare *na nāmagrahaṇād eva*, "not by naming it alone" (will the *kataka* purify), Manu vi. 67, and other cases interchangeable with instrumental.

either "purified by reason of a month" (of penance), or "by the end of a month". It is worth while to regard this correlation rather closely, as the sense of "after" in the instrumental is admitted by all to be merely a convention of translation. The instrumental (with, by) gives the time as accompaniment or means, thereby implying all of the time within which anything is done, and this interchanges with the ablative in the same phrases and in almost the same sense, "within" or "up to the end". This may be shown first by words which merely imply time and are often translated as if they were used in the sense of after (in the ablative), for example *marañāt*, in legal language, "after death" (he is purified, etc.). But it is doubtful whether time is even implied in this phrase since it interchanges with constructions implying no time when the same rule is given. For example, in Vas. xx. 41-42, *marañāt pūto bhavati* interchanges (in the same law) with *çāṇāt* in Manu viii. 316, and with *vadhe* in Āp. i. 9. 25. 4. So Vas. ib. 14, *marañān mukto bhavati*, interchanges with *mṛtyunā sa viçudhyati* in Manu xi. 104, and with *mṛtaḥ* in Gāut. xxiii. 11. Here then *marañāt* (though there is no objection to adapting an English translation to our idiom and rendering it "after death") means "by death". But this is also the meaning, as is shown by other parallels like *mṛtyunā* = *marañāt*, in time-words used in the same way; for example, "by a month" he is purified, when a penance is enjoined. Compare, for instance, Manu v. 64 and 83, where one is purified *trirātrāḥ* and *trirātrāt*; xii. 54, *talkṣayāt*; so *tryahāt* in xi. 254; *māsāt*, xi. 249. One is not purified "after", but "within, by the end of" the time of penance; in completing the penance one is *ipso facto* purified. Compare the instr. case of time "by means of", ĀB. v. 1. 5; ÇB. iv. 6. 2. 1; M. xi. 163. Thus in Yājñ. i. 188, earth is "purified by sweeping and by time", *mārjanāt kālāt* (not "after a time"). So in evil prophecies, as in BS., *ṣaṇmāsāt*, etc., the dire event is to happen "by the end of six months".

Just how this meaning arose, whether by syncretism or by a shortening process, may be argued. But it seems to me indisputable that the pure ablative of time in the case of real time-words means "by the end" and not "after", and that "after", when found in connection with words implying time, *janma'taḥ*, etc., is really "from", implying in all cases a continuity of time lacking in "after". One can say in Sanskrit "he was wise from

birth" and use the pure ablative, because there is an unbroken series. So "on the third day from birth" implies a series, from one end of which one reckons. But one cannot say "this unborn one will marry after his birth" (implying a non-serial interval of time) and use the ablative, unless prefaced with the formal word "after". Conversely, if one wishes to say "he will do this before the week is over" (implying an interval) one can use "before", but, just as well, the pure ablative meaning "by the end of the week". In such cases the difference between "by the end" and "after", which is dimmed in adverbs ("up to, in, or after a long time") and in loose phrases, stands plainly forth. To say "I will slay him *saptarātrāt*" (within a week), and not having done so to claim on the morning of the eighth day that the promise was to kill *after* a week, would be impossible. This seems to me to settle the meaning in respect of time. The only remaining question in regard to the meaning of a pure ablative (without preposition) of a real word of time is whether it means "all the time up to" or simply "by the end of". In the Sūtras, the former meaning reigns supreme in (place and) time-words. In Manu, the same meaning obtains in time-words, all the examples giving the meaning "within up to", the time set by the case. The epic use seems at first to be a little looser. Thus, "there will be a new moon within a week" evidently does not indicate full time exactly as it is indicated in "let him stand till sunrise". But it may still imply the interval up to, if we look on it as "in the course of time up to the seventh day", and as this seems to be the only exception to the general implication of time measured up to the point limited by the ablative, the latter may perhaps be accepted as the real meaning, especially as it accords with the *ā*+ablative meaning, out of which construction the ablative in this sense seems to me to have been evolved.¹

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.

¹ Professor Eggeling, at ÇB. iv. 2. 4. 5, renders *āitasmāt kālāt (upaçete)* by "from that time"; better, "up to this", as in 7, *āitasya homāt (na sarṣet)*, "up to the offering of this". Cf. iv. 2. 5. 13 (*upaçete*) *ātrāyasavāt*, "up to" (till); iii. 2. 2. 1, *ā'stamayāt*, "till sundown", and so in all other cases. On the Construction in BS., see a note in the next number of JAOS. (xxiv, First Half).